361 had come to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel P. T. Etherton, local British
315 Consul-General and Political Resident, who made haste to point out
648 "that the advantages to be gained were out of all proportion to the danger incurred. . . ." The Titai is said to have agreed, the Russians are said to have been "checkmated," and (unsaid) the industrial development of Kashgar was retarded for another stretch of years. This is a sample of the sort of thing that has long been holding back Sinkiang development.

181 Yet it is doubtful whether the tribesmen of the Sinkiang steppes and oases spent much time yearning for progress as such. They clung to their time-honored ways, and a thousand years more or less seemed to bring little change or concern. For Sinkiang did have color and charm —charm especially of a human, a warm temperament. A perfect host might sometimes put his wife or pretty daughter at the disposal of an overnight guest but paradoxically the modesty of a woman was protected by a face veil. A wealthy khan might expand his harem until it almost rivaled that of Yakub Beg, self-made "King of Kashgar," who maintained three hundred favorites in state and always took at least four with him on his trips to outlying areas. At Sinkiang merry-makings, as befitted a nomad's paradise, mare's milk was quaffed with gusto and horse meat was regarded an expensive luxury. A fortune-teller was always ready to deal out prosperity for the throng of a local bazaar; somewhere near by a tambourine would jingle merrily; and a samovar was usually singing its own happy song. Uighur, Mongol, Kazakh, and Son of Han, all and more, mingled, yet maintained their own traditions; and religion ran the gamut—from Mohammedanism, Lamaist Buddhism, and ancient Manichaeism to Christianity.

735 But in the old Sinkiang, as has too often been the case elsewhere, along with the enchanting and the bizarre there were poverty, cruelty, and crime. The Sinkiang peasant in most cases made his home in a dirty, mud-wood hovel or, on the steppe, in a primitive, tent-like abode. It was at times hard going for him to scrape up enough food on which to feed himself and his family, and often he took to begging and to
681 thievery, only to be apportioned harsh punishment. It was not unusual
696 for a servant, caught stealing, to have his fingers or part of his tongue

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angriy aroused by the unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

necessitated a double march of 35 miles to Chulak Langar, mostly over desert. To make matters worse the Amban, whose private amiability was as excessive as his official stubbornness, insisted on our *dining* with him at 8.30 a.m. on the day of our departure, a most trying business. What with this and the various farewell tea-drinkings we did not finally escape from the Karghalik neighbourhood till past noon. D. rode with me for eighteen miles, and then we packed her with a mattress and plenty of bedding from our valises in the tarantass. Sunset, and with it an icy wind from the desert, found us still twelve miles from the lonely rest-house for which we were bound. This last lap was the heaviest going of all; the tired horses were unable to drag the tarantass at more than about three miles an hour, and time after time I had to help the two orderlies to push it out of a sand-dune, thankful for the exercise which kept me warm. We were both dead tired when at last, at 9 o'clock of a freezing starlit night, we pulled into the big stone *serai* constructed in the sixties by that public-spirited tyrant, Yakub Beg "Bedaulat." Chulak Langar is situated at one of the coldest points on the whole Khotan road; standing on a slight rise facing the desert, its very name commemorates a tragedy of cold; *chulak* means "lame," and refers to a poor man who stumbled into the *serai* many years ago with his arms and legs frost-bitten and remained there a beggar until he died. To the south, the rolling gravel hills stretch away up to the blue snow-capped Kunlun; after heavy rain, and when the snows melt in the early summer, a trickle of water comes down a little valley and replenishes the big square reservoir from which the inn draws its water. In the valley are also a few poor little fields and some acres of grazing belonging to the innkeeper. To the north in the clear dawn the view is inexpressibly awe-inspiring and sinister; the yellow dunes of the Takla Makan, like the giant waves of a petrified ocean, extend in countless myriads to a far horizon with here and there an extra large sand-hill, a king-dune as it were, towering above his fellows. They seem to clamour silently, those dunes, for travellers to engulf, for whole caravans to swallow up as they have swallowed up so many in the past.

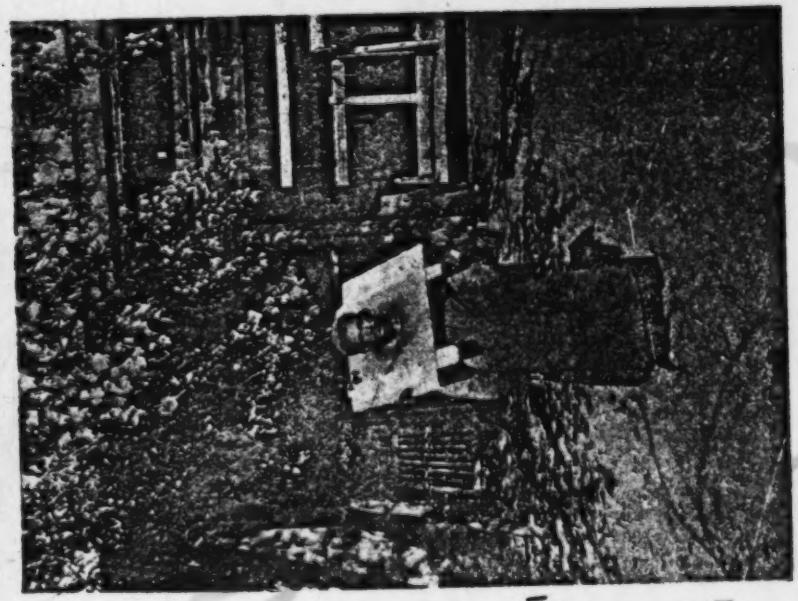
19th November.

Goma is a thriving little town of wooden houses surrounded by orchards and groves of mulberry. A flourishing local industry is the making of coarse paper from pulped mulberry-bark—a link with the past indeed, for the process is much the same as that by which the Chinese made paper towards the beginning of the Christian era. Another link with the past, of a different kind, was a debtor I saw this morning in the Yamen wearing a "cangue" (Turki *shal*) or heavy square yoke of wood padlocked round his neck. This ancient Chinese method of making debtors pay has long been officially abolished both in China Proper and in Sinkiang, but it evidently survives in out-of-the-way places; the cangues, I am told, vary in weight from 20 to 60 lb. or more, and are left on the neck of the debtor until he pays up. He can move about as he likes inside the Yamen precincts, but has to be fed by his relations as he cannot reach his own mouth.

Goma is on the very verge of the Takla Makan, of which we had such an impressive glimpse from Chulak Langar. It is a great place

DULANI WOMAN WITH SICK LAMB, MERKET [p. 124]

291



DEBTOR WEARING CANGUE, MAGISTRATE'S YAMEN, KARGHALIK

681.

[Face p. 124]

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

647 6224 In February, 1924, were heard the first rumblings of the storm. The reports of the civil officials and the petitions of the oppressed at last moved the Urumchi Government to action. Orders came from Urumchi, nominally emanating from Peking but really issued on the Governor's sole responsibility, dismissing the Titai and abolishing his post. The General refused to give up the seals of his office and defied the Governor's authority. At the same time, partly for 782 purposes of bluff and partly in order to cut the ground from under the feet of those who accused him of maintaining a paper army, he hastily enrolled some hundreds of recruits and gave large orders in the bazaars for new uniforms and boots. Something had also to be done about the forced sale of wax, the most unpopular of all his impositions. The Titai's pro- 622 cedure was characteristic. He arrested eight of his own wax- 121 distributing agents, charged them with collecting money from the people without his knowledge, and ordered their fingers and toes to be cut off joint by joint in the specially-constructed hay-chopping machine mentioned in a former chapter. Four of the men escaped or bought themselves off, the others were duly mutilated and exposed at the four gates of the city, their several limbs nailed to the wall behind them. One of the poor wretches had already died when I heard about this atrocity, but I had one of the others brought in by my orderlies and cared for by our Indian doctor; the Swedish missionaries did the same for the remaining two, and all three eventually recovered. It may be mentioned that one of them was a faithful servant of the Titai's who, when the latter's great wooden palace at Pakalik caught fire three years before, rushed into the room in which his master lay in a drunken sleep and carried him out of the burning building.

647 669 But the cup of the Titai's iniquities was full. It will be remembered that on the road to Keriya I had heard of an ominous concentration of troops at Aqsu, 300 miles north-east of Kashgar. Information I received at Karghalik and Yarkand on the return journey showed that a considerable force had been collected and was shortly to march on Kashgar under the command of Erh Taoyin of Aqsu, and that Ma Titai was the objective. On the morning of Sunday 1st June, I had an early morning appointment some miles from the town, and was on my way back at half-past ten, when I was met by an orderly with a message from the Mir Munshi to the effect that there had been fighting at the New

614 563 common migrations, and military alliance, was forced to unite into a large grouping. Clan solidarity is extremely strong. Even after the old tribal constitution was abolished in Soviet Russia, workers of the same kholkhoz felt they belonged to a new clan and observed clan exogamy, which, in this case of course, had no genetic basis.

The oldest clans emerged many centuries ago and were named after totem-animals, or after famous tribal leaders (e.g., Özbeg Khan after whom the Uzbeks are named). Some of the Kirghiz clan names of totemistic origin are bugu "stag", sary bagish "yellow elk", chong bagish "great elek", etc. Among Turkomans one finds many clan names of totemistic origin, e.g., ak okuz "white ox", qara okuz "black ox", ailar "bear", burgut "hawk", due "camel", kulan "wild donkey". The aul, great-aul and clan are all connected by [602] [621] blood relationships real or imagined. The feeling of kinship is highly developed, and manifests itself in mutual assistance in military activities and in cases of cattle losses due to theft, disease, or lack of precipitation.

The clan assumes joint responsibilities for the welfare of the whole group, in general, and for the deeds committed by individual members of the clan. The clan also takes collective action [672] [681] [423] [565] in cases of theft or murder suffered by any clan members. Grazing land is never individual property but belongs to the aul, great-aul or clan. Bäks and khans form the nobility which is called aq süyek "white bone" in contrast to the commoners who are called qara süyek "black bones".

563 565 Most members of the nobility claim to be descendants of Chinghis Khan and a considerable number of the bäks and khans undoubtedly belong to the old steppe aristocracy. However, a wealthy patriarch, with a reputation for being a fair judge, who was chieftain of a numerically rich aul or great aul could become a tribal leader by popular consent.

The white bones regard marriage between white bones and black bones as unsuitable.

[567] In addition to the white bones and the black bones there exists a third stratum, consisting of descendants of slaves who were officially freed during the middle of the last century. They do not own herds, not even single heads of cattle, but function as shepherds, farmhands, servants, etc. However, some cases are known of poor farmhands (after the abolition of slavery in Russia in 1857 which affected the tribes living athwart the Sino-Russian border so that they too decided to abolish the institution of slavery about 1869) gradually acquiring cattle and therefore ascending into the higher stratum.

563 622 The Kirghiz are not ruled by a bäk or a khan, but by elders whose functions, however, are identical with those of the bäks and khans. The elders "manap" are elected by popular acclaim, and they, in turn, fall under the leadership of an aga-manap

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[554] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either both sides agree on one or two bäks to settle the case, or each selects a bäk, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
681 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
563 horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal injuries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander, breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave, and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and intent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in
[614] the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifications from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price, payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

S
175 places. For instance, during the first two or three years of the
625 Republic, when Sinkiang was controlled by the governor Yang Tseng-hsin, numerous local officials lost their lives in local riots. However, Yang built up a police force efficient enough to maintain peace and order for almost two decades, a record much better than that of the average warlords who controlled other provinces during
S the same period. However, Yang finally was assassinated. Later,
[177] when another ambitious man, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, controlled Sinkiang, he developed a modern police system patterned after the Soviet secret police. Purge after purge made Sinkiang a police state, though people had to give credit to Sheng for his efficiency in maintaining public order. With the removal of Sheng, this police force declined and the province gradually fell into a chaotic situation again.

S
N B. Problems of Managing Diverse Groups
184 Managing the different ethnic groups was a common problem
577 throughout the Northwest, but it was especially serious in Sinkiang where more than a dozen different peoples lived. The problem can be viewed in terms of the different moral standards which were the result of their different cultural patterns and their historical and geographical backgrounds. For instance, among the Chinese, to
S give shelter overnight to a stranger is a favor, not an obligation.
N But according to V. A. Riasanovsky: Customary Law of the Mongol
[671] Tribes, p. 88, among the Mongols, refusal to give shelter for the
[674] night is a crime. Obviously over the barren, bitter cold desert and steppe refusal to grant shelter may mean life or death to a wandering traveller, while among the Chinese agricultural society it was usually only an inconvenience. Among the Moslems, Muhammad Ali
S in The Religion of Islam, p. 759, reports that it is believed that
N people are equal before God, so that punishment must be inflicted
• 681 without respect of persons. On the contrary, the Mongols pay much
184 respect to their leaders. Riasanovsky op. cit., p. 93, states: "The
674 punishment changes not only with respect to the object, but also with respect to the subject of the crime: there is no equality before
S the law." Hence, ibid., p. 88, "for the murder (with arson) of a
N nobleman the punishment is ruin (confiscation of all properties);
[565] of a man of the middle class -- 300 animals, 30 valuable things; of a man of the lower class -- 15 times nine animals and one valuable thing." Adultery and rape are serious crimes among the
N Chinese. However, the Tibetans, according to Robert B. Ekvall:
681 Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 11, permit
184 more freedom in sexual intercourse than most people. Theft is
674 punished by the Mongolian laws, Riasanovsky, op. cit., p. 91, reports, especially if a third theft, the punishment for which is ruin. But to the Tibetans "a crime is determined by the position of the one against whom it is committed. Robbery of a stranger is laudable; robbery of another Tibetan is serious only if he is powerful

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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kang was broken down, the top surface of mud had given way, and through the large holes the semi-burnt horse-manure appeared in the space below. We received a good deal of gratuitous, but not ill-natured, advice from the young recruits as to the angle at which our bedding could best be distributed, to lessen the danger of falling into the chasm. 'That quilt must come a little more to the north, or your feet will be down the hole.' 'It is a tight fit for three, but you can move a little more to the east and still be safe.'

Failing hot water, we sent for a basin full of cold, provoking the remark: 'They are extraordinarily clean. Always washing!' We were indeed glad at last to lie down under cover of darkness and get some hours of sleep! Viewed by the light of the grey dawn our conditions looked no less wretched than they had done the night before. The court was again crowded, and round the entrance of the inn groups of men and boys were already gathered throwing dice and gambling for small stakes. Half-a-dozen youths at once attracted our attention, their trouser-legs having been slit down, showing the flesh covered with festering wounds as a result of floggings. At 8 a.m. an officer came round, and we signified to him our desire to move on that day. He was aggravatingly affable, and told us that on such a hard journey as the one we were taking, it was always well to rest for a day. 'Our own food-supply and the grain for the animals is only sufficient to get us through to Hami,' we protested, 'and delay will be serious.' 'Yes, yes, yes, yes,' he replied, 'you leave it to me and I'll see that the telegram to the Governor goes to-day,' thus incidentally revealing the fact that he had not yet sent it.

It was useless to argue, although our passports bore a *laissez-passer* for the Sinkiang frontier. 'I have been

T.J.G.
"I [inn at Hsinghsinghsia--Analyst]

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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am her only child,' he told us. 'She has no idea what has happened to me, and thinks that I am safe with my uncle in Hami. They stopped me here, and say that I am to be a soldier. They allow us neither to write nor to receive letters. I was born to an unlucky fate.'

An elderly man employed in the Yamen had left his wife in Urumchi in order to transact business in Kansu, but he was not allowed to get there, and had been doing office work for the garrison for over a year. He was attempting to forget his troubles by opium-smoking.

A youth, whose legs were a terrible sight from flogging, came smiling to our room and addressed us by name: 'Do you know me?' he said. 'I am a Suchow boy and attended your Children's Service every night last winter. I would not believe the people who told me I should not get through to "Kow Wai," but this is the result of my folly!' We spoke about the wounds on his body, and he told us that he had run away and been recaptured by patrols, and then severely beaten on being brought back to the camp.

Some of the unfortunate men though supplied with adequate passports had been held up, waiting day after day hoping to hear that they might proceed on their journey. No telegram had ever come, nor had they any means of ascertaining whether the permission they hoped for had even been requested. The horrors of this Inferno were more strongly impressed on us each day. From early dawn till dark the men gambled, loafed, fought and cursed their fate. Young boys were thrown into the company of men to whom no form of vice was unknown, and a spirit of blank hopelessness dominated the place.

On the second night of our stay[1] heavy rain began to fall, and continued through the next day. It poured into our room by a dozen holes in the roof, and the

[1] [At Hsinghsinghsia -- Analyst]